1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

342 raised. An old shoe is also generally found along with the iron and
789 stones under the floor. Occasionally bits of dried *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) are also scattered about the floor or again a bunch of *tulasi*
[824] may be tied at the base of the central pole. This pole stuck in the centre of the house being built is not a part of the permanent construction, but is a device to render the building work satisfactory and protect the home from demons taking possession of it while in the process of construction. On the pole can be seen hanging a basket and in this basket were found pieces of iron and tin, and bits of the outer *lopod*[1] covering of another house. It may be taken from the walls of a house in which a happily married and prosperous family lived.
[237] In an earthen pot placed on the floor there was a yellowish liquid. The builder told us that this was water, but it had the appearance of cow's
[778 urine, although this could not be confirmed. Occasionally there is a
782] sign of a little shrine about the construction somewhere, which shows signs of the presentation of the *hom* offering.

342 The inner floor of the house will be filled in and packed down after the walls are up. In dwellings of good construction the floor of the interior of the house should be higher than the veranda floor, and the veranda floor should, in turn, be higher than that of the courtyard. Kol houses have no windows, and the door-ways are low. On enter-
[782 ing one must bow, or even get down on hands and knees. Bowing as
788] one enters is said to be a method of showing respect to the household deities. Windows might let in evil forces, hence none is included.

342 Women may aid in building the house, but their work is limited
462 to assisting in building the walls and floor of the house by bringing the earth or water, mixing them and helping to place the mud in the proper place. They take no part, however, in the construction of the
[562 roof. This is not a woman's job, and for a woman to get upon a roof
784] is taboo—a thing that requires punishment or a fine.

342 Kols are able to construct the whole house. If the roof is to
[824] be of grass, the grass is brought from the forests, and *kusa* (*Pos cynosuroides*) and *duba* (*Agrestis tincaris*) are generally used. If
[323] tiles are utilized, cheap country tiles are obtained from the village potter. The Kol puts the tiles on the roof himself. The only
[335] thing which he cannot make is the door and frame, but these may be bought quite cheaply in the markets or may be made for him by the village carpenter. They are set in the opening left for the door, and the mud is packed in about them. There is usually but one door to a house. The more primitive types of houses so common among

1 See Glossary, Appendix VI, for meanings of Vernacular terms.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

USE OF FIRE. Matches are fast finding their way into the villages of India and as a result primitive ways of making fire are disappearing. Enquiries among Kols in sections where matches are not generally in use showed that they have two primitive methods of making fire. Even here it is not often necessary to prepare fire afresh, as it is usually

Fig. 10

kept in ignited lumps of cow-dung, which burn slowly and are not easily extinguished. It is not infrequent to see, in such villages, a woman going from one house to another taking with her a smoking piece of cow-dung to start her own fire.

The most usual method is to strike a stone against iron. The spark is directed into a bit of cotton from the *semal* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*) which is very easily ignited. Kols collect and preserve the cotton for this purpose. The second method often practised is that of rubbing together two well-dried sticks of the *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*). One stick is notched. A sawing method is used, and a bit of *semal* cotton dropped into and around the notch, where the heat generated by friction ignites it. This is carefully nursed and transferred to dry leaves and grass.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION. Like most village and common folk in India the Kols have two meals a day : one about noon and the other late at night. Early in the morning something is usually taken before going out to work. This may consist of a *chapati* or a bit of rice left over from the night before. The two main meals are almost similar and there is usually no variation in the menu. In the season when rice is cheapest, it will form the main part of the meal ; or when wheat is the cheaper, this is eaten in the form of *chapatis*. In Rewa millet is frequently used. Along with these main articles a little vegetable curry and some pulse is usually eaten. Meats are not taken regularly as they are too expensive, but Kols eat most meats except beef. These

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

this in a strict way, and when certain situations arise they may eat from a brass dish without offence. The same applies in the case of the Kathautiyas.

Russell and Hiralal[1] are supposed to have found traces of totemism among the Kols, but as previously noted it is clear that they have made a mistake in the case of the Kathariyas. They list certain "totemistic septs" in Mandla. They note that the Bargaiyan sept is really named after the village of Bargaon, that the sept connects its name with the *bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and is said to revere it. This tree, however, is generally revered by Kols. Some of the sept's uses and taboos of the tree are mentioned in their article. The second sept, the Kathautia has the explanation that we have given, except it is reported that the sept reveres the tiger and keeps Bagheshwar Deo,[2] the tiger god, on a little platform on the veranda. We found no trace of this among the Kathautiyas interviewed. The third is the Kathariya sept, of which we have already spoken and where we believe the authors have gone astray. Fourthly, "The name of the Mudia or Mudrundia sept is said to mean shaven head, but they apparently revere the white *kumhra* or gourd, perhaps because it has some relation to the shaven head. They give the white gourd to a woman on the third day after she has borne a child, and her family do not eat this vegetable for three years."[3] Fifthly, the Kumraya sept is said to revere the brown *kumhra*. Again, the Bhuwar sept is named after *bhu* or *bhumi* and its members must never sleep on cots, always on the ground. We found no trace of this belief. "Other septs are Nathunia, a nose ring; Karpatia, a kind of grass; and Binjhwar, from a tribe of that name."[4] Russell and Hiralal do not state whether there are exogamic tendencies in connection with these septs or not. Totemism however, is a very complex phenomenon and differs widely even among the Mundas. There is apparently no single criterion; "Exogamy may or may not be coupled with the other features, totemistic taboos may be dissociated from a totemistic name for the group practising them; descent from the totem may or may not be postulated; and so forth."[5] Lowie goes on to discuss Goldenweiser's and Fraser's theories of totemism and finds them inadequate to explain the totemistic phenomena. "Only confusion can result from envisaging what is disparate under a single head."[6] The

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol, III, p. 510, 511.
2 See index : Tiger.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5 Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

843 782 presentation of a piece of a broken cocoanut. Occasionally, particularly when the woman is in severe pain before the time her birth-pangs are expected and normal, there may be a special sacrifice of one of the animals noted above. Hindus also observe similar ceremonies.

843 789 There are certain charms which are believed to be useful to the expectant mother to ward off evil. A small metal box for the protecting *devi* is worn on a cotton thread round the neck, while a copper necklace is regarded as an especially effective protection. Sometimes the leaves [824] of the *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) are useful. Such leaves may be laid on the mother's abdomen with a prayer that she may be safeguarded through this dangerous period. These various means help in the prevention of miscarriage which, if it does occur, is believed to be due to the influence of some evil force. But even should a demon trip the woman up and cause her to fall heavily to the ground, no harm will result if these precautions have been attended to. When there is a case of miscarriage the foetus is taken away to the burial ground and put into a hole without any ceremony.

845 789 *Labour.* Among the more primitive Kols difficult labour is ascribed to evil spirits; the more advanced ones speak of it as a punishment due from Bhagawan for some bad *karma*. In case the delivery proves difficult there are certain things that should be done. Some Kols definitely averred that nothing can alter the difficulties of labour, but questions have been answered in such a way by others that it appears to be established that there are magical practices in this connection. If things are not going well the first thing to be done is to make a suitable offering to a *devi* or *deva*, or both. Then one should go carefully about the house and open the mouth of each covered earthen pot; the knots on every bundle should be carefully untied and strings or pieces of ropes untwisted. As far as possible every closed thing in the house should be opened up. This, it is believed, will make the delivery easier. Often five handfuls of rice are taken out of the opened rice jar and Bhagawan is challenged to divide the grains into two equal parts without making an error. They imply that if he can do such a thing and do it right he will surely be able to see the child safely through delivery.

844 787 Another magical use of grain is also made at this critical hour. Prayers are first offered for a safe delivery, then a handful of grain is taken out of the pot by a male member of the family. This is carefully counted. If it happens that the number of grains is even, then all will be well, for it is a good omen, and the delivery will be easy. If the number is an odd one, it is a warning of the likelihood of pain and danger.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

844 [112] she has brought with her and takes charge of the child. The female relatives may move the mother to another part of the room. The first thing to be done to the baby when it is certain that it has begun [751] to breathe, which is learned by the crying of the infant, is to sprinkle it lightly from head to foot with wood ashes. This, it is claimed, prevents skin trouble, a possible chill, and wards off evil spirits. Ashes are also sprinkled about the floor where the mother squatted. The ashes on the child are then removed with a soft cloth and the baby is bathed in luke-warm water. It is then dried and is usually gently massaged with the sweet *til* oil from *Sesamum indicum*. The child [824] should now be given a smoke bath. There has been a fire burning in the lying-in room and into this is sprinkled some *ajwayan* or dill seed (*Anethum graveolens*), which gives a smoke with a pleasant odour. The child is waved through this several times and the smoke and warmth are said to help in removing the moisture from the body and give it protection from evil. Some old pieces of cloth are now ready and in these the child is wrapped by the *dai* who places it on a *supa* (winnowing fan).

The *dai* now turns her attention to the mother who is probably lying on some dirty rags in the corner. The mother is cleaned by the [824] *dai* and is massaged with sweet oil. Usually *harowar*, sometimes called *sarson* oil (mustard oil from *Brassica juncea*), is mixed in with the *til* oil. The *dai* should also clean up and dispose off all the dirty cloths and the placenta. We found some differences as to the method of the disposal of these things. In most places it appears that they 844 are never taken out of the house lest evil spirits work through them, 184 but that they are buried with clarified butter (*ghi*) in a hole in the earthen floor and a fire kept burning over the spot for six days. Sometimes, though rarely, the placenta and soiled cloths are collected in an earthen vessel (or sometimes placed upon a large-sized earthen tile) and are taken outside the house. These things are usually placed somewhere at the back of the house in a place which may not be visited, or are thrown on the manure pile, or sometimes they are buried there. At other times all is burned in the fire which is alight in the lying-in room and the ashes are later thrown into some stream. Again, it was said that it is all wrapped up in a dirty cloth and thrown into a secluded spot. These customs seem to vary, but the first is the most usual.

844 Roy in *The Birhors* says that this group buries the after-birth just 17 outside the door—the deeper it is buried the longer is the interval before the birth of the next child. No animal should be able to get at it and eat it, or the mother will sicken and die. In the case of the umbilical

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

cord the child will die if this is eaten; if it is buried deeply the child's teeth will appear late and if shallow they come early.[1]

No traces of corresponding beliefs were found among the Kols, but they have the conviction, common to village India, that, should wrong persons get possession of the placenta and the umbilical cord they are likely to be used in magical practices dangerous to the mother and the infant. They should therefore be well-guarded and no outsider should have access to them; this is why they usually are not taken out of the house and are buried beneath the floor. A childless woman, by eating a portion of either the placenta or the umbilical cord may dispel the influences which keep her barren, but in so doing there is every chance that it will result in injury and even death in the family from which she received by stealth the required parts.

The work of the *dai* ordinarily lasts for six days, that is, during the full period of the uncleanness. Sometimes however, this is dispensed with as far as the full period is concerned, but during the time the *dai* is in the house it is her duty to care for the mother and child. For the first three days the mother is not supposed to take anything except a little milk but after that period is over she eats a bit of food after the first bath. If the child is a male the *dai* is usually paid one rupee for her work, and if the child be of the other sex, half that amount. During the period of her work the *dai* is given food from the household and when she leaves certain other presents and clothes are likely to be forthcoming. No difference in the period of uncleanness is made on account of sex—in either case it lasts for six days. In some places there is a relaxation of the strictness after the third day. A special drink said to be made of "ginger root (*Cleome viscosa*), raw sugar (*gur*) and certain jungle roots boiled together" is given to her three times a day until she is stronger.

During this period the mother is confined to her room. She should not touch anything and should spend the time lying down. Certain measures should now be taken to protect the mother and the young child from evil influences. These influences are particularly malignant during the first six days, but may be overcome by certain methods. A small fire should constantly burn in the lying-in room and should be kept alive by wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*). *Bel* is the wood of the gods and they are attracted by its smoke and no evil spirits dare be present at the same time. Sometimes twigs of *bel* wood are placed beside the infant or a twig of the same may be imbedded in the floor. The wood of the *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*)

1 *The Birhors*, p. 223.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

846 is also a valuable charm against evil spirits and is often used. Ashes
789 from the fire burning within the room are also taken and sprinkled around
[824] the cot or around the spot where the newborn infant is lying on the floor. No spirit will dare cross this line of ashes. Ashes are also placed on the door sill to bar access to the house from that direction. Iron is similarly used; bits of nails being driven into the frame about the door, or a piece of iron hung just over it. Sometimes wine may be sprinkled around the delivery room after the *dai* has cleaned up. This attracts the beneficent deities and as a result the evil ones will have to flee. During those six critical nights an elderly man should sleep just outside the doorway. Every form of protection known should be attempted, for there is no telling where *bhuts* may enter as they can come into the house as air does.

853 There is a night bird belonging to a class of owls which the Kols
825 greatly fear. This is the night-jar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*), called by them the *kurset* bird and often known as the goatsucker. As it is particularly fond of human milk this bird is said to watch for the women nursing babies. During the night, when the mother and child are sound asleep, this bird is very active and may slip into the house and draw the milk from the mother's breast. The mother is not aware of this, or if she is dimly conscious of something, she believes that the baby is feeding. For lack of milk the child does not grow, gets thinner and thinner and soon dies. Its constant crying is a sure sign that the *kurset* bird is stealing away its milk. The mother is also affected and may die. The
[342] best possible protection against this bird is the closed door (there
824] being no windows), with branches of the *nim* tree hanging over it. He may also be frightened away by ill-sounding noises. These birds, commonly seen in Central India, have a peculiar way of looking at one, as if they were staring and searching for something.

846 The stump of the umbilical cord, called the *nara*, has usually fallen off by the sixth day and this is invariably buried in the floor of the house, and fire kept burning over the place of its burial for six days more. Several things are buried with the cord, although reports vary.
[824] Occasionally some *bel* leaves are put with it and it is thus interred; again a few copper pice, some turmeric (*haldi—Curcuma longa*) and *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) are also buried with it. At other times some grains of rice may be coloured yellow with *haldi* and then dropped one by one into the hole prepared for the cord. As each grain is dropped
[551] the name of some relative is called. In the future the child should hold these names in great respect and never call such persons directly by name. This dropping of rice, however, is not usually observed. The burial of the *nara* or cord is said to be very important. It is really a

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

857 853 862 574 the child is fed and the money is used to buy an ornament. When groups using the finger were asked about using the coin, they said that it should not be done as the coin was not clean. Another group used a mango leaf instead of the finger. In Rewa State one group stated that just before the feeding of the child the mother should take it before the household deity, naming Bhanmati in this case, and bowing down before her ask the *devi* to protect the child, the household, and the children yet to come.

304 [326] NOSE AND EAR PIERCING. The piercing of the nose and ears is usually done by a *sonar* (goldsmith), although Kols may do it themselves. The hole is generally made by simply forcing the ends of the ring through the lobe in the ear, but for the nose a bronze instrument is used. As far as could be ascertained no ceremony is performed at the time nor does the *sonar* repeat any *mantras*. The best time to have piercing done is at the time of some large *mela* (religious gathering) in the vicinity, for then there are plenty of *sonars* on hand awaiting work. [157] When the nose is pierced a small plug of wood is first inserted, but the earrings are allowed from the beginning. The wound has onion and [465] turmeric rubbed into it, which help it to heal. The *sonar* is given a seer of rice, some chillis and a little salt, or may be paid four pice for the piercing and paid extra for the rings according to their value. It has already been noted that the Kathautiyas use woodpith to enlarge the holes in their ears and as a result their lobes have larger holes. [301] Kols about Jubbulpore claimed that in Rewa every Kol woman should have a ring of gold and silver on her ears or nose. Our observations however did not confirm this claim.

789 [30] 824 Earrings help to protect the child from evil. Other things as well ward off evil influences and we found that the *retha* nut (*Sapindus mukorossi*) and half a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphyus xylopyrus* (?)) are put into a strip of cloth, tied in a knot and worn round the neck. This is considered a good protection from *nazar*, the evil eye, but it does not help in the case of *bhuts*. Black bangles on the wrists and a white *pot* (dab) [776] just in front of the ears also protect from the evil eye. A copper ring may be put on one of the ankles for any evil spirit attacking the child will become imprisoned in this. Good spirits live in amulets about the neck and drive off *bhuts*. At other times a piece of a broken or [426] discarded human tooth, tied on a string about the wrist, is considered an effective protection. A strip of coloured cloth, red and yellow being preferred, may also be tied somewhere about the child's person. These are some of the measures which may be taken to protect the young child during the early months and years of life. Other instances

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584 him verbally (give *gali*), take all kinds of liberties with him and try
252 their best to make him lose his temper. He is supposed to take no
[578] notice of this but to remain calmly at his work. After the *lawa* is prepared (the man does not prepare all that is required) it is put into
[532] a new *ghara* decorated with pictures representing females. Sometimes other articles are also put into the *ghara* —uncooked rice, bits of *supari* nut, *haldi* and two-pice coins. When prepared at the bride-groom's house the *lawa* is kept to be taken with the boy's party on their trip to the girl's village for the *sadi* and is there mixed with the *lawa* prepared in the girl's house for use at the time of the wedding. The preparation of the *lawa*, which is made a day or two before the group
[574 leaves for the wedding, is made the occasion for the reconciliation of
626 estranged relatives within the village and the consequent restoration
578] of friendship. This reconciliation may also be extended to any member of the *kurhi* with whom there have been unhappy relations.

584 (*b*) *Marriage Booth: Marhwa.* In the meantime there has been far more to do at the girl's house where the actual wedding is to take
349 place, for the wedding booth (*marhwa* or *mandap*) must be constructed there. This is usually set up in the courtyard immediately in front of the girl's house. In this booth the essentials of the marriage ceremony are performed and the sacred pole is fixed at its centre. Male relatives of the bridegroom help to build it, but women must have nothing to do with its construction. Before the men who come to work can actually start operations the bridegroom must have his body
[302 rubbed with *til* oil mixed with *haldi*. The anointing should be done
602] by his sister or another close female relative and he should then be
593] dressed in clothes which have been dipped in *haldi* water. The construction of the *marhwa* may now begin.

584 The *marhwa* is constructed of prescribed kinds of wood. Its size varies, but is usually about eight feet square and six to seven feet
349 high. Nine poles are used in its construction, including the central
824 post, called the *magrohan*, which however does not reach up to the roof. *Saleh* (*Boswellia serrata*) is the most favoured kind of wood and if procurable is preferred, both for the framework of the booth and for the sacred pole at its centre. The eight remaining poles are arranged so that there are three on a side. Text figure 21 will make this clear.[1] If *saleh* wood is not available, *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*), *sal* (*Sheora robusta*), *char* (*Buchanania latifola*) or even bamboo are permissible. The central post, however, must be of *saleh* wood and they search far and wide until they have found it. The leaves of the banana plant are tied to each of the eight poles and over the top. The

[1] [ow p.86.-Analyst]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

roof is formed by bamboo branches covered with banana leaves. Around the upper edge of the *marhwa* is hung a frieze of mango twigs. Mango leaves are always found in connection with Kol weddings; they do not wither easily and are a symbol of everlastingness and stability. Strips of paper, usually coloured red, are used for decoration. The ground under the *marhwa* is carefully levelled and plastered with cowdung and in the very centre a hole twelve to eighteen inches deep is dug. This is where the central pole will be placed. Before the pole is lowered into position a *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*), some pieces of *haldi* (usually five) and two-pice coins are placed in the pit, and according to some accounts, rice coloured with *haldi* is also thrown in. The *magrohan* is a piece of wood three to four feet in length and two to four inches in diameter. It should preferably be green wood, though a dry pole is used if a fresh one is not available. It is coloured red with *sendur* or yellow with *haldi* and has some thread, coloured either white or yellow, wrapped about it seven times from the top to the bottom. Along with the *magrohan* a short green bamboo stick is fixed together with a green *gular* branch and the iron bar used in digging the holes for the booth. If the central post should be of *gular* or other wood a bit of *saleh* must be inserted with it. The *saleh* is a symbol of fertility, being an evergreen tree which never withers and takes root easily and quickly; even an apparently dry stick will sprout. After the *magrohan* has been put in place it is reverently circuited by the builders seven times in a clockwise direction and then *sendur* and cowdung are applied. The sacred pole stands at the centre of the wedding observances and at that time is surrounded by the articles now to be mentioned. Their position is indicated in figure 21 on the next page.

1. The *magrohan*.
2. A *kalsa* (earthenware pot) filled with water. In the water there are mango leaves which are allowed to protrude at the top and over the top is placed a *dip* or earthenware lamp.
3. A *sil* (grinding stone) on which are placed the following articles noted in the sub-heads:
   a. A *lorha* (stone roller)—which the bridegroom will use to roll over the pice and disturb their arrangement.
   b. Husked rice, which is sprinkled over the surface of the *sil*.
   c. Seven pice coins which are laid in a row on top of the rice.
   d. Seven bits of wood, each a different kind.
   e. A whole *supari* nut.
   f. *Haldi* water is sprinkled over the whole.
4. A branch of *gular* or *palasa* (*Butea frondosa*) buried near the *magrohan*. In a crotch of the same will be inserted a small earthen pot containing *haldi*, *supari* nut and two pice.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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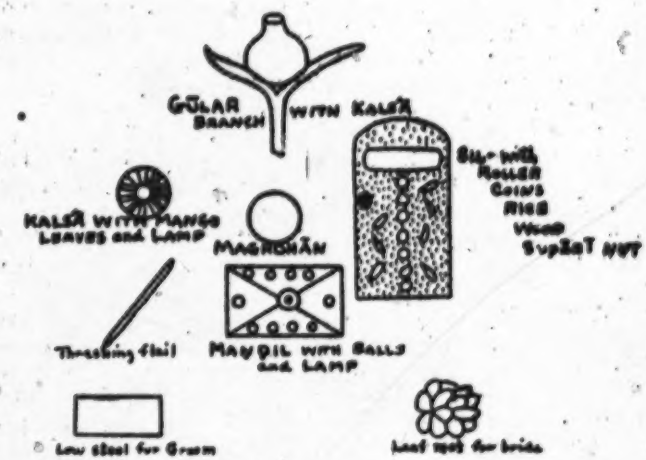
GŪLAR BRANCH WITH KALSĀ
KALSĀ WITH MANGO LEAVES and LAMP
MAGHOHĀN
MAṆḌIL WITH BALLS and LAMP
Low stool for Groom
Leaf mat for bride

Fig. 21

5. A flat cone of earth (*mandil*) about one foot high and a foot in diameter on which are placed around its edge eight to ten small round balls of earth. Over the whole four arches of earth are constructed and in the centre another *dip* is set.
6. A *pīṛa* (low stool) on which the bridegroom will be seated.
7. A small mat of large leaves on which the bride will sit.
8. A *muser* (threshing flail).

[352]
[412]

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

CHAPTER VII

DEATH AND ITS ATTENDANT CEREMONIES

761 Death is an event which every Kol knows must be faced relatively early in life. One does not find a high proportion of aged Kols.[1] Among many primitive people death is usually ascribed to evil influences, but among the Kols this does not seem to be the common belief. While they believe that some deaths may be ascribed to evil influences they do not believe that all are caused that way. On the whole they take quite a natural view of the phenomenon. What the gods will that they do. Death also may be due only to natural causes or carelessness and no hidden malevolent cause is assumed. Death is usually deserved, for as one sows he also reaps. Hence an early death may be justly merited and caused by corrupt living. The Kols do not seem to be as superstition ridden as many groups are, yet we found indications that they hold the general local village point of view. On [771] the whole there is a wholesome attitude toward the supernatural—the world is not altogether evil.

763 THE APPROACH OF DEATH. When it is clear that a person is about to die there are certain things which ought to be done. It was found that the custom of bringing a cow to the bedside of the dying man [825 782] is known and is occasionally practiced. The dying man is asked to take hold of her tail. This will help him to get to heaven, for the cow is now considered an offering to God, and it is held that by holding the tail the [271 778] dying man makes this offering. If available, he is also made to drink a little Ganges water which is regarded as the very best of drinks to give him at that hour. Failing this, a sip of water in which gold has been washed [823] is efficacious. Gold is considered an incarnation of God and a symbol of purity. Again, some ordinary water into which some ground up leaves [824] of the *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) have been thrown is advantageous. Such drinks are said to purify the dying person and prepare the soul for its flight to other worlds. Hindu influences are apparent.

Usually the person who is dying is placed on the ground to expire. The body is placed on the ground so that there may be close contact with Mother Earth. In some places it is said that a man may just as well die

[162 171] 1 This holds for primitive tribes in general, although any statement of age is unreliable. The 1931 census figures show that among the Kols there were only 100 men and 99 women per mile over forty. Other tribes show the following: Gond 154 men and 155 women; Maria 106 and 97; Baiga 143 and 146. Hindus rank higher—171 and 173 for Brahmins and 106 and 103 for Kunbis. *Census of India*, 1931, xii: 1, p. 131.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

764
762 cannot get such faithful wives—they prefer to run away," and there
522 was a hearty laugh.

766 In some parts of India the bodies of young children are sometimes buried under the floor of the house in which they lived but this custom does not prevail among the Kols. Children are buried in the regular *masan*, and not in a special place by themselves. If both mother and child die at the time of childbirth they are buried together in one grave. If they die on different days so that they cannot be buried together they are given separate burials.

Those dying abnormal deaths, by suicide, accident, or childbirth, are not treated differently from those dying in other ways. Kols are unlike most Hindus in this respect.

764 Sometimes grass plays a part in the funeral ceremonies, and in
765 Rewa State we found that Kols used *urai* grass (*Vetiveria zizanioides*)
824 at such a time. It was stated that at the time of bathing after the return
184 from the funeral ground a bunch of *urai* grass should be held in the right hand and that it too should be bathed. At least the chief mourner should do this. During the following days and until the time of the funeral feast this same bunch of grass should be carefully washed every day. On the day of the funeral feast it is thrown into the tank or river.

764 An interesting explanation of the use of small plugs if gold put into
823 holes bored in the front teeth came from the Rewa State. It was said
301 that when one died and the body was cremated the teeth would not be
184 consumed by the fire and the gold would still be in them Or even if the gold had melted out it would be in the ashes, and would be gathered with them and taken to the river. The throwing of gold into a
[782 river, particularly the Ganges, is a gift to the gods and pleases them
775] and the spirit gets *aram*—rest—in the after life in *baikuntha*—the abode of *Vishnu*.

764 Tattoo marks are said to have a certain significance at the time
304 of death. This applies to women as the men are not tattooed. If a
789 woman has tattoo marks on her forearm, and also on her upper arm, the arms are so folded when she is placed in the grave that the two tattooed places touch each other. This is said to somehow afford protection, please the gods and help the spirit on its way.[1] See also pages 29 and 30.

764 The chief mourner should also keep a piece of iron about his person
823 during the days of mourning, and possibly ever after. Sometimes, just before burial, this piece which is to act as a charm, is touched to the

1 See Crooke, *Op. Cit.*, p. 298.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

are made, the animal should be of a black colour. Black glass bangles will also be attached to her part of the shrine or found where she is worshipped. She likes the Tulasi plant and sometimes lives in it.

Occasionally she is a household goddess and is worshipped along with other household deities.

When the spirit of Kali possesses a worshipper, he can walk without discomfort or injury on spiked sandals.[1]

Kalka. Is one of Sharda's six sisters. She is seldom invoked, for according to Kols, when Shardamai or Kalimai are worshipped she is happy and pleased.

Khermai. This *devi* is probably the one most frequently worshipped by Kols. The Census Report classes her as the Earth Goddess[2] and Crooke[3] believes Khera to be the same as Khetrpal, the field guardian. Sometimes it would appear that the term included many kinds of deities such as Kali and Sitalamai. Her shrine is found in or near every Kol village, and she is always mentioned; it is also frequently claimed that she must be considered first, subsequently any others that one might choose. Sometimes she is called Bhagavati and is said to be the best mediator between men and Bhagawan, for if she is kept pleased and contented, one does not have to worry about Bhagawan.

Khermai's duties are manifold. She is the village watchman and protector. She wards off evil spirits and prevents their entry into the village. Sometimes her shrine is placed at the south of the village to ward off the evil spirits which so frequently come from that direction. In times of illness, she is invoked, and is thought to be intimately connected with disease; when one has smallpox she is worshipped in the person who is stricken. Cholera and smallpox are sometimes said to come directly from Bhagawan, and she is the best protector in case he sends them. On such occasions she should be given a libation of water and the village may be "tied" with her help.[4]

She is thought to help the Kols in all kinds of difficulties; she guards a man going on a journey; as he leaves, he may promise her an offering of a cocoanut which he will give if he returns safely. At set times she possesses her devotees, and through them reveals her will and answers their questions on problems confronting them. The sure test of her presence is the power to thrust an iron trident through the tongue or cheek.

1 See pp. 148, 160.
2 *Census of India*, 1911. XIII, p. 89.
3 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 92, 93.
4 See Chapter IX, Tying the Village.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Khermai is offered many things: a few annas may be left at the shrine; cocoanuts are a favourite offering; *ghi*, *puris*, *batasa*, and *ganja* are forms of food and drugs which please her and are frequently placed before her shrine. She likes *sendur* marks here and there about the place where she is worshipped, and incense is welcomed. Lemons and limes are always acceptable and should be placed before her. They also prevent the evil spirits from molesting the place.

If the occasion is sufficiently serious, an animal sacrifice is made to Khermai. Apparently no particular colour is required, although in one centre it was said that should a chicken be offered, it should be white. She likes young female animals: pig, kid or lamb. These are later eaten at a ceremonial meal in connection with the shrine.

Khermai is best worshipped under a *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*), and her shrine is generally found there. If there is no *nim* tree available, a *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*) or a *bel* (*Aegle marmelos*) tree will do. She is generally worshipped after sunset, although this is not always the rule, especially if there is an emergency. In summer time when it is hot and dry, some *gharas* of water are kept at the shrine and people frequently pour water over the shrine to cool the *devi*.

If any danger threatens the village or an epidemic is near, some milk, liquor and powdered charcoal may be mixed and sprinkled about the village in her name. This is followed by an animal sacrifice and a ceremonial meal at the shrine. In case of smallpox, in addition to the regular offerings, she may be given a bath each day for ten days. Then a mixture of oil and turmeric powder is poured out before her.

Mahamai. "The Great Mother." This goddess is the same as Sitalamai, the goddess of smallpox and the name is an euphemistic title. Kols are not always clear concerning the relationship of the two and sometimes they have been named together. A red flag indicates the presence of this deity.

Marhai. Is said to be the goddess of death, but under this name at least, does not seem to be very important, and no satisfactory information can be given about her by the Kols. She is probably the same as Maridevi.

Maridevi. The goddess of epidemics, particularly of cholera and plague. By some informants she is said to be Khermai's elder sister. She is very powerful, and there is no better protector from these diseases than this goddess. In the Kaimur hills one group claimed that she was the most powerful of all the *devis* which they worshipped.

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776 825 773 According to Kol legends tigers and Kols have been closely associated. This may refer to the jungle habitation of early Kols or it may have a totemistic aspect. Descent from the totem may be implied in the legend recorded on pages 41-42. But now the tiger and the Kol have separated and gone their own ways, this being symbolic of changes in the Kol way of living. The tiger is reverenced because he is feared. While Kols claim that they should never hunt the tiger nor assist in a beat, nevertheless this principle is often broken due to the temptation of money. This attitude may have a totemistic origin, but it also may be due to the fear that he will return evil for evil.

776 782 825 The tiger should be propitiated along with the household gods, but as a rule he is not included in them by people who live in areas where tigers are not to be expected. It is the Kol that lives in or near the jungle who fears the tiger. Baghdeo is offered a cocoanut, *chapatis* and other food. At the *Holi* season he should be given a chicken. The opinion is advanced that if this is overlooked Baghdeo may attack, kill, and eat male members of the family not sacrificing to him. It is claimed by these folks that he will never attack a woman or a girl. If he is pleased they may go into the mountains and jungle in search of wood and grass without fear of him. If he is met, he will pass them by, and should be respectfully spoken to. A Kol need not fear a tiger unless he has neglected his offerings to Baghdeo.

776 842 782 *Bahanar Singh Deo* is another of the Kol household gods and has the power to close the womb of the women folk and cause barrenness. In one centre it was said that women who desired children should come before him and sacrifice to him in preference to Shardamai. If Bahanar Singh should fail, then Shardamai may be tried. This *deo* is particularly fond of white offerings, and a white kid or chicken is preferred. This should be offered at the village shrine. At the time of offering the woman desiring children comes before the shrine with a pot of oil and *haldi*, into which she dips her right hand and somewhere about the shrine makes an impression of the whole of her hand. This attracts Bahanar Singh and helps him to identify the woman. The *panda* is there and cuts the animal, sprinkles the blood, and tells her what to do in order that her prayer may be granted. He may advise certain other offerings, and perhaps command that she abstain from certain foods, particularly rich ones, for a season.

776 782 824 *Barum baba.* Barum *baba* is quite often thought of as an evil spirit. In the Kaimur hills it is said that he always lives in *pipal* trees. No image or sign of his presence is made. The offerings are simply placed at the foot of the tree which he inhabits, and cocoanuts and *khichri* were mentioned as offerings. It was also asserted that he likes to have the sacred

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thread hung on the tree in which he is found. Animals are never sacrificed to him. One such tree, claimed to be the dwelling place of Barum *baba* was inspected, but there was no sign of offerings having been made there. As far as possible Kols avoid trees inhabited by him, particularly after dark.

In Rewa, Barum *baba* was said to be the spirit of a deceased Brahmin. Probably this is why the sacred thread is so acceptable to him as an offering and should be hung on the trees in which he resides.

Bas deo and Barum *deo* are probably the same in the thought of the Kol. These spirits prefer to live in the *bar* or Banyan tree, though they are reported as living in *pipal* trees as well. They are mostly thought of as vindictive and evil, but it is also said that they are somewhat afraid of people and that they try to please men if they can; it is good for man to get a vision of Bas *deo*.

Bhainsokhar, *Bhaino*, and *Bhainsasor* are all forms of the buffalo god or demon. Crooke has certain information in this connection.

> The Kols believe in Naga-era who occupies wells, tanks, and stagnant waters, the embodiment of malaria, and Garha-era, a water goddess, 'frequently and truly described as the cause of sickness, and propitiated with sacrifices to spare their victims' (from Dalton). Such spirits sometimes appear in the form of animals, like Bhainsasura, the buffalo demon akin to Mahishasura, with the same meaning, who gives its name to Mysore, the embodiment of death, like the black buffalo on which Yama, god of death, rides, which was slain by Durga, the life protecting goddess. They often show themselves in the shape of a turban which clings to the fisherman's hook and increases in size as he tries to drag it ashore or pulls him into the water—all impersonations of the vague awe and mystery of dark, still water pools. Hence they are special protectors of passengers at Ghats or fords.[1]

The Kols we interviewed are vague about this deity, but feel that the buffalo god is dangerous and ought to be propitiated. At Benda a shrine was found to him. A picture shows the white mound in the centre of a platform as his dwelling place.[2] The plants are *Tulasi*—the sacred basil.

Burha deo. This deity is probably the same as Bura *deo*, said to be the chief deity of the Gonds. While Kols know him, it appears that very little is actually done, other than that his name may be called at times of worship along with other lesser deities.

Dulha deo. The worship of Dulha *deo* or Dulha *baba* is widespread in Central India, and the Kols have much to do with him. He

1 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 60.
2 See plate xxii.

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If, during a worship period, a *bana* does not come when it should be expected, ashes are sprinkled over the worshipper. Probably some demon is near, and the spirit of the *devi* will not enter as long as a *bhut* is about, and this will frighten him away. A person who is ill, or who is facing some danger, may come, make an offering, and sprinkle ashes over himself, saying the magical words *"ochha, ochha."*

11. *A Grass Bundle* (*Chhahur*). This is the magic grass, and provides shade, shelter, and protection to *devis*. The *chhahur* is composed of stalks of wheat or some other sacred grass like *kans* (*Saccharum spontaneum*), *kusa* (*Poa cynosuroides*) or *urai* (*Vetivera zizanoides*) tied in a bundle to the end of a bamboo stick. These bits of grass are taken from thatch roofs of the houses in the village, usually one stalk from each house. Thus each house honours the deity and will therefore be protected. At times of smallpox or cholera this is a very effective procedure, and one or two stalks are brought from each house and tied together by the *panda* and set up. Each family which gives the grass is thus protected. Strings of red, yellow and black beads are usually hung about the *chhahur*. They give the household added protection as the *devis* are still more pleased.

12. *Flowers*. Marigold (*Tagetes erecta*), and *Tulasi* (*Ocymum sanctum*) plants are nearly always seen in connection with Kol shrines. The marigold is a sacred plant and is usually found in connection with Hindu worship, while *tulasi* plants are often found there too. At Kaimur, Kali lived in a *tulasi* plant and black bangles were hung upon it to indicate that fact.

13. *Bangles* (*Churi*). Bangles, being a feminine adornment, are always found at Kol shrines. These are usually red, yellow or black in colour, and they seem to be used with discrimination. They may be tied on a pole or on a *nim* tree, or fastened to some part of the furnishings of the shrine.

14. *Vermilion* (*Sendur*). Red lead is very necessary in worship. It was seen how it stimulated Mahabir into action. *Devis* like it, and it is also a devil scarer and helps to protect the shrine.

15. *Mounds* (*Pinda*). It is not infrequently found that there are one or more mounds raised on the mud platform to represent *devis* and to be their dwelling place. These are generally whitewashed once a week. At Kaimur, one was for Khermai and the other for Mari *devi*; at Benda Bhainsokhar was worshipped this way.

16. *Earthenware Vessels* (*Ghara*). These are not always found, but during the hot season are usually hung either in the tree or on a pole over the shrine. Sometimes liquor is kept in them. This is pleasing to the goddesses, especially Kali. Sometimes water is kept

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778 [271 776] in these vessels, and a tiny hole pierced in the bottom so that the water drops over the shrine. This is popular in warm weather when the *devi* should be cooled and the dripping water is pleasing to her.

17. *Tinsel* (*Tika*): Women often place a small round dot made [302] of lac tinsel on the centre of their foreheads. It is usually of red colour. These bits of tinsel are used in the shrines as well, and are stuck on it here and there. The *devis* like them and they help to attract them to the shrine.

18. *Stone* (*Patthar*). Bits of stone, usually pieces rounded in the bed of streams and longish in shape, are often found somewhere about the shrine. This may be an imitation of the *Salagrama* stones found [831] in connection with the worship of Vishnu. Sometimes they are of *lingam* type such as used in the worship of Siva.

This sums up the items usually found in Kol shrines. Probably no shrine we saw had all these components, though the Kaimur shrine came nearest to it. In addition to the above, there was at Kaimur [823] an unusual feature. This was a flat stone which had apparently come from some ancient Hindu temple and on which two figures were carved. The *panda* of the shrine claimed that it was brought from Rewa and [782 789] that the figures represented Sharda and Kalki. The stone must have weighed about eighty pounds, but, it was claimed, if a *hom* offering were performed when it was moved, it became very light and was [386] easy to transport. It was coloured red with *sendur*. It will have been noticed how imperfectly anthropomorphized the godlings are, and that no special images are required.

The only Kol shrine which had brick walls and a roof was found on the outskirts of Katni. The room measured about five feet square inside, was four feet high, and had a flat roof. This was called the shrine of Khermai, although on the flat top Barnai was said to dwell. [824] Also tongs were there for Sannyasi *deo*. The usual bundle of *kans* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) was on top of it.

778 793 The offerings, the lighting of the lights and the placing of the necessary parts, are all in the hands of the *panda*. It is not part of his work, however, to keep the shrine clean and properly plastered. This is the duty of the women of the village, and they take turns in doing it. The shrine is plastered at least once a week and cleaned oftener. The sweepings, including ashes, dust, bits of cocoanut shells and the like, are not swept to the ground beside the shrine, but are carefully put into a basket by the woman who is doing the work. If they should be thrown out upon the earth, evil will result, so they are carried to a stream or a tank and thrown into the water. They are sacred ashes, likened unto the ashes following a cremation and must be respected.

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778 was washed as well. The *puris* were then put right beside the shrine
776 in piles and the cocoanuts in front. The two flags carried by the
755 boy were set up along with others which had accumulated at the shrine, the larger by Khermai and the smaller one by Asmanimai. Two or three of the cocoanuts were then broken and laid before the *devis*.

Another procession now started, this time around the shrine of Khermai only. It too went in a clockwise direction, not around the platform as a whole, but on the platform and around the *devi*. This time three rounds were made. The woman with the dishevelled hair and her husband both measured their lengths in this procession, but the others did not do so, they simply walked around. The group then gathered again in front of Khermai and the woman once more prostrated herself, although not as vigorously as before. In the meantime the drummer came down and sat beside a small hedge near the shrine. His wife spread out a piece of cloth in front of him, and the villagers proceeded to pour out their offerings of rice, wheat, *dal* and the like onto the cloth. It was said that this went to the drummer. At the same time individual members of the group on the platform were breaking the remaining cocoanuts into small pieces. These were distributed to everyone within sight. The *puris* were not distributed; that would be done later on.

The accompanying diagram shows the arrangement of this shrine and gives an idea of what was done. See figure 27 and plate XXV.

778 *Offerings at the Shrines.* Considerable mention has been made
782 of the offerings presented at Kol shrines, but more should be added and the matter summarized.

The general tendency is toward offerings of cocoanuts and food rather than animals. This is partly due to economic reasons, but may also be due to the influence of the Vaishnavite sect of Hinduism.

The most common single offering is the *hom*, which is essentially a fire sacrifice. This must have been borrowed from the Hindus. Into the fire burning before the deity is dropped *ghi* and incense. Sometimes pieces of cocoanut, or seeds and drops of lime juice are added.

The cocoanut is universally offered, and it has been suggested
● [824] that it is symbolic of human sacrifice and that the shell represents the human skull. As a rule Kols seem to have no knowledge of this point
[773] of view. At the temple of Shardamai and Maihar, the Brahmin priest told us the cocoanuts were symbolical of the head of a certain Alhandal who used to bathe Shardamai daily with water and finally sacrificed his own head to her. She was so pleased at this that she gave him the gift of immortality. According to Crooke, Alha and Udal were

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

two Banaphar Rajput heroes engaged in a war between two Rajput clans. This was dated about 1165-1203 A.D.[1]

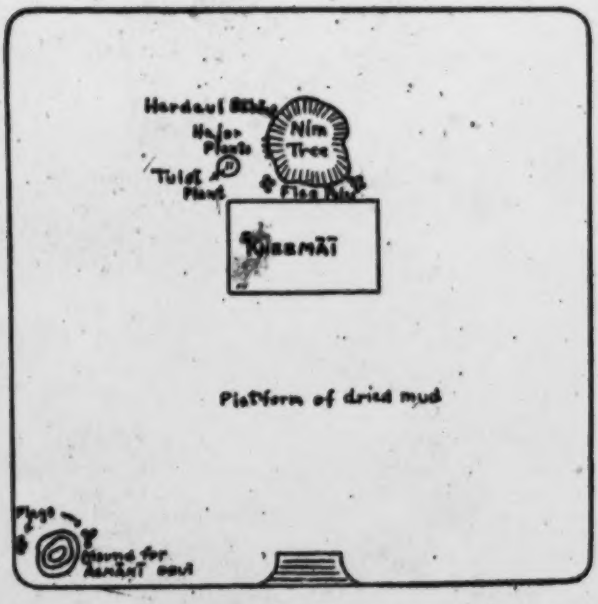

Fig. 27

Usually the cocoanut is first laid whole before the deity, and after the ceremonies have been performed and any invocations offered by the *panda*, the cocoanut is broken by hitting it on the ground or on a stone. It is always struck on the stone; not broken by being hit by a stone or other instrument. The shell is thrown aside and the edible portion placed before the deity. Pieces are distributed to each of the worshippers and onlookers, who then eat before her. A priest may break a cocoanut in the absence of the offerer, if the latter is not able to be present.

Lemons or limes are also offered. These please and attract the *devis*. They are also liked by demons and may attract them. Should

1 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

778 782 [824] such seem to be the case, a piece of lemon may be thrown well away from the shrine. The evil spirit will go after it, forgetting all about what is going on at the shrine. Such spirits are easily outwitted in this manner.

Foods offered include almost all kinds cooked in *ghi*: *puris*, *khichri* and various sweets. *Ghi* itself is frequently put about.

[825] Animals which make acceptable offerings include the chicken, goat, pig and sheep. The latter is very expensive and is not often resorted to. The mature goat or pig is almost never sacrificed—young ones are preferred by the *devis*. Usually a *devi* desires a female of the species offered, and a *deota* a male. The animal to be sacrificed is brought before the shrine, having been first washed and marked with *sendur*. Its throat is cut with an iron knife and the blood is sprinkled directly before the symbols, or at the foot of the tree where the little flags are located. Sometimes the animal is decapitated with a single blow, and only the head is taken on the platform, and blood from it [262 264] dropped over the symbols. The animal is then cleaned, cooked and eaten beside the shrine, and the people partake of a ceremonial meal together. The bones and bits left over are carefully gathered and taken away, either by some low-caste Hindu who may be around, or by some Kol who takes them outside the village boundary and [435] deposits them in a *nala* or place where water is likely to flow. The kid or suckling pig costs from one to three rupees each depending upon the size. Kols never raise pigs and so have to buy them. Goats, [231] however, are often kept and are generally available. The kind and size of animal offered usually depends on the economic condition of the worshipper. It is also said that when a man desires to make an [787 793] offering, he will pray that in a dream the kind of offering he should make may be revealed to him. A *panda's* advice is also sought.

Some deities are said to have particular preferences regarding [776 822] the colour of the animal sacrificed. The Kols are far from consistent, but generally for Kali or Kalika, the colour should be black. Khermai generally prefers white and Marimai red. Most of the *devis* are not very discriminating.

776 778 782 Kols make these offerings in order to protect themselves from the troubles, diseases and miseries of life. Possibly they will lead the deities to be merciful. They are promised that if all goes well they will receive sacrifices and offerings regularly. If offered properly, these sacrifices are thought to bind the deity and practically force her to do as the worshipper desires. The people are thus psychologically confident of a good outcome. If the deities are kept pleased and happy

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broke it upon a stone and separated the kernel, putting a bit of it in the fire. The juice of the remaining lime was squeezed out on the ground, the oil of the lamp was poured out, the knife was stuck into the ground and water sprinkled about seven times as he muttered incantations. Then with a shout he fell back exhausted, where he lay for several minutes before opening his eyes in a sort of stupefied manner. The pieces of cocoanut were then distributed to the singers and players. The man sat up, seemed normal again, and showed his hands, as if to say that the wounds were healed and no ill had befallen him. The group left and went to their homes. We heard later that they got thoroughly intoxicated and had a small pig for a feast. The whole performance lasted approximately an hour.

GODDESS SEPTS. Kols do not worship all the goddesses mentioned in the previous lists, but usually limit themselves to certain of them; they have a certain number which they call their own deities. Usually the son should worship the same number as the father worshipped, but not necessarily the same ones. By way of illustration, the following shows the reaction of five Kols who happened to be talking about this:

1. Three Deities: Shardamai, Kalimai and Barmatimai.
2. Three: Kalki, Phulmati and Sharda.
3. Said he too had three and named those in 2.
4. Four: Phonamuki, Athabhuji, Lorhadhar, Asmani.
5. Seemed much puzzled and said he worshipped several but no particular number.

TREES AND RELIGION. In another place more will be said about Kol beliefs concerning trees.[1] The chief trees thought of in connection with deities are noted here:

The *Nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) is the best tree for the Kol and is considered to be the home of Khermai, although other *devis* also like it.

The *Pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) are the home of Baran *deo* and other rather dangerous spirits. At Sehora a giant *danawa* lives in a *pipal* tree.

The Tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*) is a favourite home of the *churel*, a particularly vicious spirit, but is also the abode of Chithra *devi*.

The Banyan tree also shelters Basdeo and Sannyasi.

1. See Chapter IX.

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orthodox Hindus each passage of the sun from one constellation to another is marked by some kind of ceremony. The change after the sun has reached its most northern course coincides with the coming of the welcome monsoon rains, which turn the dry and dusty lands into a paradise of green. Russell and Hiralal also note that the Kurmis, an agricultural caste in the Central Provinces, keep this festival in the month of *Srawan* (July-August).[1]

Hariyari. This has been named to us by Kols and is probably very similar to, if not identical with, the *Hareli* festival. Crooke has a few words by way of information: "Bhuiyas, Kols, and Binds of the United Provinces also worship during the rainy season Haryari Devi, 'Mother of Greenery', by employing their Baiga priest to sacrifice chickens and to pour a libation of wine on the field after harvest or before the sowing season."[2]

Holi. This festival is usually called *Phag* by Kols as it occurs in the month of *Phagun* (February-March). It is essentially a spring festival, largely entered into and carried on by the lower castes. It marks the coming of spring, and the sympathetic magic in the ceremony tends to promote the fertility of crops and animals.

Kols who live in or near cities and towns observe this more than those isolated in villages. In Rewa a group of Kols claimed that they would not particularly observe it, but Kols near Jubbulpore said that those who remained behind in Rewa observed it much more fully than they who had left and come away.

Preparations for the *Phag* festival were watched in a Kol village close to Jubbulpore, and our enquiries were freely answered. The first part of the festival centres around a great bonfire which is arranged much as Hindu castes construct it. This should always be built outside the village and eastwards, towards the rising sun. If one Kol village cannot get up enough enthusiasm for a good celebration, they may join with another village in their preparations, or several villages may join together. The wood for the fire may be taken by force or stolen from its owners, and the owners are not supposed to make any protest.

The place chosen for the fire is first cleared and levelled. In the centre a hole is dug, into which the pole, around which the wood is to be stacked, will be inserted. Two pice, some *haldi* and a *supari* nut are dropped into the hole. The central pole should be of *andi* wood, the castor oil stalk (*Palma christi*), and around this the wood, brush and other inflammable materials are laid. The larger the pile the more

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV. p. 84.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 288.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

occasion, as such acts are not considered really reprehensible if done during *Holi*.

Jawara. This is the most important of the festivals observed by the Kols and while linked to Hindu observances, is nevertheless probably a much more primitive affair than many Hindu ceremonies. The *Jawara* festival comes twice a year, in the Spring in the Hindu month of *Chaita* (March-April), and the Fall in the month of *Kunwar* (September-October). The former begins on the first day of the Hindu year in the month *Chaita*, and lasts for nine days ending on *Ramnavami* or the birthday of Rama. In the Fall it comes during the first nine days of *Kunwar* and ends just before *Dasara* on the tenth of *Kunwar*. The Fall festival comes just before the sowing of the winter crop of wheat, and the Spring festival comes just after it has been reaped.

The *Jawara* festival is entered into by the Kols with great enthusiasm, and it is during this period that the *bawa* or spirit possession is most common. During the nine days of the festival, singing, dancing and the beating of drums are kept up almost incessantly after nightfall.

It is called *Jawara* festival after the *juari* plant, a large millet, *Sorghum vulgare*. As this is not grown to a great extent in Central India, it is more usual to find that wheat rather than *jawar* is used in the ceremonies. On the first day of the nine days' celebration, a room or portion of a room is plastered and made ready for the sowings. A ceremonial bath should be taken first, and the one who plants the wheat should care for it the rest of the nine days. The wheat is then sown in small earthen vessels or sometimes in leaf dishes filled with earth, which is well-manured so that the wheat will grow nicely. It is watered daily and a few drops of milk are sprinkled over it in order to make it grow even better. The water should never be put on the plants directly from the hand, preferably the roots of a barley plant should be dipped into the water and thus it is sprinkled upon the growing plants. The vessels are kept indoors and probably not far from one of the household goddesses. It is said that all Kols do not sow this wheat, only those whose forefathers did so, or perhaps also those who have made some vow before a deity.

During the nine days of this celebration almost all the Kol deities are invoked and worshipped, and there is much singing before the village shrines, and *bawas* are common. The eighth night is the one most likely for a *bawa*, for that night all the people in the village are required to fast. During the nine days, the person caring for the wheat should fast in the evenings. The long stalks have sprung up by this time and are now ready to be taken out.

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entering into it in the form of a dog, a cat or an owl. They may assume almost any form and their bite is very poisonous. They can quickly change their shape and appearance. The female type, called *rakshasi* goes about in the likeness of a beautiful girl and seduces men. Nevertheless, this type of demon is easily fooled and if one is clever and does not lose his nerve he can outwit them.

Kols are also familiar with other kinds of spirits such as the *gayal*, the *pisach* and the *hogi*, but little seems to be known about them. The literature on tribes and castes is rich in spiritism and much might be compiled concerning spirits. The above represents the usual Kol point of view.

THE DWELLING PLACE OF SPIRITS. Kols believe that trees are the most likely place for spirits to dwell. The *banyan* tree seems to be the favourite place for the spirit, although it is said that the *churel* prefers a *nim* tree, particularly if broken or dead. It is claimed that the mango and the *bel* trees are not often inhabited by spirits. The tamarind tree is connected with the *jind*.

Spirits may also dwell in rocks and certain weird shapes in their appearance are probably due to the activity of some spirit living there.

Animals may become habitations for spirits, and some, like the *rakshasas*, freely enter into them. The graveyard and the burning grounds are sure to have some spirits dwelling near them and Kols avoid such places; or if they must pass by, go two by two. Such places should never be approached at night.

It was noted that spirits enter houses through doors and other openings. Doors are therefore generally surrounded by demon-scarers, and windows are never found. Evil spirits also enter and dwell in human beings, coming in through the mouth, eyes, ears or nose; so these points should be especially protected. They may also run up the legs or the arms and suitable bangles are worn to prevent this.

THE EVIL EYE: NAZAR. Men and women may also be possessed of an evil power to injure or distress one another. The evil eye, *nazar*, exerts a powerful and dangerous influence and is often evidenced by a squint or the loss of an eye. The person with an evil eye has an inherent power which may be transmitted through a mere glance, and this power strikes one as surely as a bullet. The very glance of such persons is particularly penetrating and it is not good to have any one gaze at you, for it may be that death is in the look. Children are particularly liable to be affected by the evil eye, and ill health and

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even death are often traced to this influence. A woman is more likely 754
to have an evil eye than a man. Kols believe that Gond women
should be avoided as far as possible for many of them are said to have [648]
an evil eye that is likely to affect children. A well-dressed person is
more likely to be affected than a poorly dressed one, and to put on fine [292]
clothes is to attract attention and therefore invite danger.

The evil eye may also be directed against animals and plants; 754
so a bad crop, or the illness or death of an animal, may be due to some 789
one with an evil eye. Pumpkins are often trained to grow upon the 824
roof of Kol houses and may be protected from the evil eye by white-
washing an ordinary flat tile, making a cross in the centre with lamp- [241]
black, and putting upon the tile as many dots as there are pumpkins
growing upon the roof. This will protect them and no pumpkin will
rot. A rotted pumpkin is the sure sign of the activity of this mysterious
force.

The time of eating is a particularly dangerous one from the point 754
of view of the evil eye. No stranger should come into the presence 264
of one who is taking his meal, and at that time he should turn his
back on all people, including even the members of his own household. [609]
If one possessed of the evil eye should see the face of a person taking
his food it may have a serious result. Therefore it is wise never to
interrupt a man at his meals; this a stranger will never do. If
accidentally confronted in this way, the eater should stop his meal and
wait till the person has passed out of sight. To be seen in the act of [291]
putting on new clothes is also to expose oneself to the dangers of the
evil eye, should such a person happen by.

WHAT THESE FORCES DO. We have seen something of the 776
supernormal powers which the average Kol feels are all about him. 754
What do these powers bring to pass? Some indication of this has
been given already, but more may be stated. Diseases, particularly
wasting diseases, are surely due to the presence of evil spirits or the
spell of the evil eye. Any mysterious disease may be ascribed to [777]
these powers. Ill luck is also due to the attention of the forces named
above. A man may be tripped up: it is the work of a spirit; he
cuts his hand: a *bhut* directed the axe. We were told of a certain
evil spirit dwelling in a banyan tree on the Great Deccan Road near 776
Katni. He was particularly annoyed by cyclists: probably he could 754
not get used to the march of civilization. This spirit was especially 493
active at midday and midnight, and if a cyclist should fail to show
respect, by not dismounting and walking by the tree at those parti-
cular hours, he was sure to be killed. It was commonly reported

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Lemons and Limes are able to protect one by attracting the attention of the spirit so that he forgets his original evil intentions. So a lime may be carried about one, tied in the loin cloth. A spirit approaches the man, smells the lime and makes for it, and is so taken up with its 'find' that it forgets the man. If this should happen, the lime upon examination will be found to bear evidences of this attack: the juice will be drained away and the lime may even be split. At the time of worship a lime is sometimes cut and thrown as far as possible. Evil spirits hovering about the sacrifice will take after the lime and, fighting over it, will forget what is going on at the shrine. Limes are also pleasing to *devis* and when the *hom* sacrifice is made some lime juice is frequently squeezed into the fire.

Magic Circles. There are many forms of the magic circle and the shape does not always have to be circular. Any circular article like a bangle or a string of beads is a protection. At the time of the *bawa* an iron ring will often be found encircling the fire for the *hom* offering. The tying of the village with a mixture of charcoal, liquor and milk is an example of the use of the magic circle. Such a circle is put about the place of worship if demonic influence is feared. The circle of ashes round the bed of the mother and her new-born babe has been previously mentioned.

Magic Symbols and figures are also efficacious. Such are pictured upon the walls of the lying-in room and on the walls outside the door, and we have given reproductions of them.[1] Sometimes they are tattooed on the body, and the swastika and the *shasti* are the favourites. Symbols marked by the priest on the forehead are useful protective devices.

Mantras. There is also a great power resident in *mantras* or magic spells. Such *mantras* are very potent in driving off evil spirits. At one time *mantras* may have been Vedic texts, but now-a-days the term *mantra* "is extended to all magical forms of words, letters, sounds or any hocuspocus which bring good luck to the happy possessor of them and evil to his enemies, spirits, or casters of the evil eye. These are often inscribed on paper, the ink in which they are written is drunk, or they are kept in metal cases or inscribed on metal or other talismans."[2]

Some *mantras* which may be used against evil spirits and diseases are as follows:

1 See page 62.

2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 290.

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171 789 776 examples are current among low caste Hindus and do not represent the more polished type to be found higher up.

Milk. The use of milk has been mentioned in connection with 272 776 the magic circle. The good spirits like it, and certain evil spirits are passionately fond of it. Milk is scattered over the ashes after the 782 funeral pyre has burnt down. Milk propitiates Nag, the serpent god. 789

Names. Great care should be exercised in the selection and use 551 of names, as they become a part of one's personality. A good name is also attractive to evil spirits, and if the spirits come to know that a 789 certain child has such a name they may make an attack on the innocent thing. Therefore, call the child by an evil name such as 'fly', 'filth', 'one-eyed', and the spirits will not condescend to notice him. [754] Such names protect in another manner as well. If one gets possession of the name of someone—his real name—he may, through the charms of black magic, work harm to the person concerned. Therefore the child's true name should never be known to people lest they should work ill with it. The use of magic on a false name is ineffective and no harm can come to one.

789 *Noises* of various types are demon-scarers for they dislike noise; [825] hence the beating of drums, the occasional fireworks and other devices, by which loud noises are produced when necessary.

Nuts and Seeds of various kinds are useful. Many Kol children 789 have a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphys xylopyrus?*) tied to a string which is hung 824 somewhere about the person, often on the wrist. Mustard seeds are freely sprinkled about if spirits are expected, and, as in the case of limes, distract their attention. They are scattered round the place where a body is burnt. Black *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) is often [585] used on similar occasions. The *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) is placed below the sacred pole in the marriage booth and under the foundation stone of the house. These are in this manner protected from evil.

789 *Salt* has its magic use among the Kols. It has a preservative 263 power, and this, together with its power over demons, accounts for its being scattered over the place where the dead have been cremated. [765] It should not be put into the food during the period of mourning after a death in the home, and the chief mourner should not use it for a year.

755 *Scape Animals.* Among Kols there is a belief that an evil spirit 787 resident in a man may be transferred to an animal and the man thus freed. It is not unusual to bring a man believed to be possessed of 825 a spirit before the shrine together with a chicken or goat, usually the 782 former. The *panda* invokes Khermai amid singing and drumming, or mostly drumming, and there may be a *bava* along with it. Under

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these conditions the evil spirit is sternly addressed and in the name of Khermai is ordered to leave the person affected and enter the chicken. Upon being satisfied that the transaction has actually occurred there are now two or three ways of dealing with the chicken. The most common procedure is to sacrifice it to Khermai, and as the blood is sprinkled at the base of the shrine she is implored to conduct the evil spirit far away so that it may trouble them no more. The less common method is to take the chicken into the jungle, the further away the better, and loose it there, invoking Khermai to let the spirit be in the chicken as long as the latter lives; then when the chicken dies, never to allow the spirit to be able to find its way back to the village. If the chicken should return alive to the village it would mean that the spirit would also re-enter and harm someone.

Supa. The *supa* or winnowing fan is a great protective and has many magical uses. The new-born infant is laid in it and no evil spirit will dare touch him there. It is used in various wave ceremonies, notably during the wedding cycle. It is used to cast out demons and to detect demon possession.

Tattooing has its protective value and in an earlier section this was discussed. It was noted that it protected against disease and aided in the necessary household activities.[1]

Threads, red or black in colour, are useful about the neck. This applies particularly to the child, but the adult often has one somewhere on his person. At *Rakshabandan* time the opposite sexes tie threads on members of the family. Threads are used in connection with the marriage of trees and a thread is wrapped seven times around the marriage pole. Threads are often knotted to afford further protection.

Thorns. Thorns afford great trouble to the spirits. They are put over the bodies of the deceased in the graves and are often put about the houses, where they serve the dual purpose of keeping off both beast and spirit. They are used in magical practices, so that when a jackal crosses the road a pile of thorns should be set up, a stone put in the centre, and with one's foot placed on the stone the jackal should be roundly cursed.

Trees and Plants. Any tree associated with the gods is holy and keeps away evil powers and influences. A *charpai* or cot of *nim* wood is very useful as it protects one when he is helpless in his sleep. Some *nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) should always be placed in the lying-

1. See pp. 29-31.

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in room and about the door leading to it. Wood from the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) is useful if burned in the lying-in room and this is done for a period of six days after the child's birth, for this is a critical time from the point of view of evil influences. In Hindu thought *bel* is associated with the god Vishnu. The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is helpful in affording a safe delivery and a bit of it is laid over the abdomen of a woman expecting a child. Mango leaves, being lucky and everlasting, are uniformly used in connection with the wedding cycle. Ginger is a devil-scarer, and turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) with its yellow colour is used continually to afford protection. The *magrohan* of the wedding booth should have turmeric put into the hole in which it is placed. The same practice is observed when the umbilical cord is buried or the foundation of a house is laid.

Tying the Village. Tying the village and loosing the *devi* is a magic rite which is common among Kols and comes at set seasons. In Barela, for example, this festival is observed in connection with Mari *devi*, the goddess of cholera. It takes two forms and the observance is reported all over the Kol community.

The cholera *devi*, Marimai, must, if possible, be kept imprisoned in her shrine for a portion of the year, particularly during the cholera season. At Barela they say that she must be tied between *Baishaka* (April-May) and *Pus* (December-January). The rest of the year, say for the period of from three to four months, she may roam as she pleases. About the middle of *Pus* a *panda* cuts the cotton cord kept in the shrine. It is this cord that is supposed to imprison her, so when it is cut, she is no longer bound by it. Other *devis* are also considered to be loose at that season. Along in the month of *Baishaka*, the deity is brought back to the shrine by offerings and sacrifices, the magic thread is tied by the same *panda* that released the *devi* previously, and she is now considered bound. This is followed by a feast near the shrine to which only the men may come.

Along with this there is a second form of tying the village and the two are occasionally combined. In this case some water, wine, milk and powdered charcoal are brought to the shrine where a sacrifice is offered and the *devi* implored to let the magic ring about the village prevent the entrance into it of cholera or smallpox. The *panda* then mixes the ingredients mentioned above and the mixture is put into a glass bottle or into a tin with a tiny hole in the bottom. The men then proceed to tie the whole or a part of the village. If the whole is tied it is called *gaonbandh*, and if part, *tolabandh*. They proceed with drumming and singing and a line of the mixture is laid down, either

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775 776 789 MEETING A SPIRIT. Even though properly protected from spiritual forces one is still not immune from their attacks. If one should meet a spirit it is always proper to be very respectful in its presence and to try not to offend it in any way. If the *bhut* is addressed as one would address a gentleman he may behave like one. If one moves further on and the *bhut* insists on following, the person attended may, provided he is properly protected by charms, call out the name of Khermai three or four times in rapid succession. Her very name is so powerful that the evil spirit is helpless and goes away disgusted. But should the person not be properly protected by amulets and the like, he should not call upon Khermai.

If it should be necessary to pass the known dwelling place of a *bhut* or other spirit, the person should first stop and respectfully ask the spirit to let him pass safely. No person should be boastful in the presence of a spirit nor use the name of Khermai except as a last resort. The spirit should be addressed as "Maharaj" if a male, and [576] if a female as "Mata". These respectful forms of address are pleasing to them and they will allow such people to pass without harm.

789 [791] [648] HOW SPIRITS MAY BE CAST OUT. Evil spirits may be cast out only by those who know the secret processes and *mantras* necessary, and such secrets are usually carefully guarded by the initiated. The *panda* is probably familiar with methods although not all of them would admit that they were, and a member of the Baiga tribe is *par excellence* the man. The *bawa* is usually associated with this ceremony.

The *supa* method, forms of which are described below, is the usual method of driving out an evil spirit. Again, the priest while possessed of the *devi* may order the family to perform certain rites, such as feeding the group, sacrificing at the shrine, abstaining from rich foods, and the like; or he may even beat the unfortunate being with his iron lash until the blood flows. This will surely frighten the demon away.

There is another form known to the Kols by the name of *jharna*, 'the sifting or winnowing'. A *supa* (winnowing fan), a *hansiya* (sickle) [824] and a bit of *Kans* grass (*Saccharium spontaneum*) are made use of in this particular wave ceremony. The person on whom these will be [785] used must have fasted for a period and have had *mantras* pronounced over him, then the above articles are one by one waved over him. The sickle, the grass and the winnowing fan are all symbolical of removing a spirit: the sickle, as it is first waved, symbolizes the cutting down of the spirit, the grass implies the work is done, and in the sifting

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825 The *galgal* or *mainz* (*Acridotheres tristis*) is believed to be engaged, but not yet married, and is called a *brahmacharia*. He is never injured. Parrots are never molested, for some of them can speak and utter [773] Ram! Ram! One legend, recorded in another place[1] has it that the *Sath Bhais* gave the Kols their gift of music.

824 *Trees.* Among the Kols trees are reverenced largely in connection with worship. The *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*) appears to [776] be the favourite tree of the Kol tribe. It is the home of Khermai, [778] the chief deity, and every Kol village or community has a *nim* tree under which the major shrine of the village is found. It has already been noted that this tree has certain magical protective powers and medicinal properties. Demons seldom, if ever, take up their dwelling [513] in a growing *nim* tree, and it is considered healthful and safe to sleep under one.

[778] The *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) are also sacred to Kols and it is not infrequent that they put shrines under them. However, these trees are more liable to shelter 824 evil spirits than is the *nim*, and Barandeo is often found in them. We 776 were told about the growth of a certain *pipal* tree in one of the villages which we visited. It appears that Barandeo wanted to live on the veranda of that house so he saw to it that a *pipal* tree began to grow there. The leaves of this tree, however, were repeatedly eaten off by goats but still it grew. The people who lived there then realized that this must be the work of some deity and cared for it. As a result it grew and good luck came into the house. Kols will never destroy a young *pipal* tree even though they know that eventually it will destroy 824 the building. Hutton, in writing about the survival of primitive 171 belief, says the following in connection with the *pipal* tree:

> We may therefore continue to expect to find very ancient and primitive beliefs continuing under the guise of Hinduism. The sanctity of the fig tree, for instance is possibly to be associated with the beliefs of the Negrito inhabitants who appear to have formed the earliest population of India. It is possibly on account of its milk-like sap that the *ficus* is associated with the fertility cults in Africa, Italy and New Guinea as well as in Assam and in South India, and it is generally also connected with the spirits of the dead. This cult appears to be shared by the Andamese who are an approximately pure Negrito race, and perhaps the only race still surviving in the world comparatively unmixed in blood. At any rate they and their beliefs have probably been isolated for some 5000 years at least.[2]

824 As far as Kols are concerned the mango tree (*Mangifera indica*) 776 and the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*) are not commonly inhabited by either

1 See Chapter X.
2 *Census of India*, 1931, 1 : 1, p. 397.

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824 [776] [585]

spirits or goddesses. It has been noted that the mango branch plays an important part in wedding functions. It was also noted that in building the wedding booth Kols ought to use, if possible, wood from the *saleh* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) both for the main supports of the *marhwa* and for the sacred pole, the *magrohan*. The consensus of opinion is that for the latter the *saleh* is absolutely indispensable.

[757] [773] [778] [263] [782] [775]

The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is found beside Kol shrines and in the courtyards of their houses. It should be watered daily and its leaves are said to have certain medicinal qualities, being especially effective in fevers. Tulasi was once a woman who engaged in religious austerities for a long time and at last dared to ask to become a wife of Vishnu. For this presumption Tulasi was cursed by Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, and was turned into this plant. Vishnu comforted her by promising to be near her in the form of a *salagrama* stone. So they are often associated in worship and even in Kol shrines a *salagrama* stone is usually found close to the *tulasi* plant. The leaf is highly scented and a bit is often broken off by Kols and eaten with their food. During the evening hours it is worshipped by having a small *dip* lighted before it.

Dead trees are generally feared as the death of a tree is most certainly due to an evil spirit's influence and a *churel* often kills a tree to make a residence for herself.

824 796

MARRIAGE OF TREES. The Kols have a ceremony for the marriage of trees. The mango tree is the one usually married and this should be done at the time it first begins to bear fruit. Unless such a tree has been married no adult should eat of the fruit, although a child may do so. There are at least two methods of marrying trees, both of which require the Brahmin priest. In the first instance a mango tree should be married to a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*). This tree may be near at hand, or even some distance from the mango tree. The ceremony appears to consist in having a married couple wind a cotton thread coloured with *haldi* seven times around the tree. They should move about the tree in a clockwise direction and as they do this the Brahmin recites sacred texts. First the mango tree is wound then the tamarind; if they are close enough together the thread may be stretched from one to the other. It is not unusual to find a mango and a tamarind tree planted close by. Many of the features of the regular wedding are incorporated, and following the function there is a feast. [574]

In the second instance a small wooden peg, variously coloured, takes the place of the tamarind tree. This may be made out of tama-

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824 796 rind wood, although this does not seem to be essential. Stakes for this purpose may be purchased ready for use in the bazaars when the mango crop is about to ripen.

The peg is driven into the ground near the tree or trees which are to be married. One peg will do for a number of trees and it reduces the expense in connection with the ceremony. The Brahmin priest will stretch a thin yellow thread from the peg to each of the trees. The owner of the trees has some supplies on hand, said to include *til* oil, rice, *lawa* and *ghi*. Each person present is given a bit of these things which are put into a fire by the sacred pole at the signal of the priest, who says "swaha, swaha," as they are being cast in. The fire blazes up and gives off a scented smoke. The *pandit* (or even the *nai*), then ties, first of all, a bit of yellow cord around the wrist of the owner, and then on the wrist of each one present. The owner [431] should give to everyone present a gift of uncooked rice, the amount varying according to his ability. This ceremony should be performed just before or after the time the tree bears its first fruits. A tree is married only once.

312 796 TANKS AND WELLS. There is a somewhat similar ceremony in the case of wells and tanks. In village India large earthen tanks are commonly used to store water. Water not so wedded will not be as potable as it ought to be. In the case of a tank there should be a pole set up in the centre of the pond. This is said to represent the male element, the husband of the spirit inhabiting the tank and guarding it. It may also correspond to the *magrohan*. An unmarried tank may be molested by evil spirits and the pole warns such away. No coherent account of a ritual in this connection could be obtained from the Kols.

Wells are "married" by putting a bit of *sendur* on the coping and the well is circumambulated seven times by a married couple. Another account was that a Brahmin is called who worships, says *mantras* and performs the *hom* sacrifice. Following this he drinks a *lota* of water and others follow suit. This is sufficient to consecrate a well and make its waters sweet and wholesome.

762 775 MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS. A number of other animistic beliefs may be mentioned here:

The man who commits suicide does a very foolish thing and it seldom occurs among Kols, for, they say, the police make a great fuss about a suicide, and there is much trouble as a result, and the whole community is hurt. But if committed, hanging from trees is the usual method resorted to. The soul of such a person cannot go to *baikuntha* (Vishnu's heaven), and is doomed to wander about homeless

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Kol Tribe	Number per 1,000 earners engaged in each occupation
Artisans and other workers ..	22
Labourers, boatmen, cartmen, *palki* bearers, etc. ..	19
Trade ..	12
Domestic service ..	11
Contractors, clerks, cashiers, etc. otherwise unspecified ..	17
Labourers, unspecified ..	157
Other occupations ..	27[1]

463 177 Our own investigations show that the Kols enter into the modern economic world more easily than other primitive tribes such as the Gonds. While there are scores of Gond villages in and around Jubbulpore, the Gonds are shy and retiring and are only seen in the town on bazaar days when they come to buy and exchange some of [156] their forest produce. The Kols are not bad mixers, seem to like company, and have entered into the industrial life of the city quite readily. We did not find the Kols limited to any particular occupation. 463 They are unusually good workers and wherever we went we found this fact mentioned about them. We found a few who are farmers [427] and who hold small pieces of land from the *malguzar*. Others are farm workers and follow the crops; and during the time of the wheat harvest some Kol villages and *mahullas* are almost entirely deserted. Many of the Kols living in a town not far from Jubbulpore are road-workers, breaking the stone for the roadway and doing the required [439] labour in repairing it. Others in Barela burn and sell charcoal; some Kols buy wood from the Gonds, cut it into convenient lengths and resell it in Jubbulpore. In Khajara Ghat, a purely Kol village about eight miles from Jubbulpore and quite inaccessible and isolated, the [427] Kols seem independent, raising all their own food-stuffs and paying their *malguzari* rents by means of the proceeds from the sale of wood [276 824] and of the leaves of the *tendu* plants (*Diospyros embryopteris, melanoxylon, montana, etc.*), used in the manufacture of country cigarettes or *biris*. No one in this village was said to be engaged in hard labour [461] for others, known as coolie work. In other places we found indication that they can quite readily turn their hands to mechanical work. A few are so engaged in the factories in Jubbulpore. We watched Kols

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

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cut in this forest and carried to Jubbulpore where it is sold to customers among the military folks living on the Ridge. In this way three to four annas per trip are earned. The Kol who takes wood from the reserved forest must pay two pice for each load carried on his head out of the forest.

The cutting of grass during the rainy season is another source of income for this village and a good load of grass, such as may be carried on the head, will bring from three to four annas in Jubbulpore. Gardening would be possible along the banks of the river but they do not do any there. What gardening they do is limited to the manure pile where pumpkins and the like are allowed to grow. There is an occasional hunt with dogs and torches, mainly for hares which stand and watch the light and are either clubbed to death or caught by the dogs. There were no guns in the village, nor did they use the bow and arrow. Although they live right beside the river fishing is not common. Sometimes fish are cornered in shallow water and caught with strips of cloth.

In our visits to Kol villages we also went to numerous bazaars. The bazaar is usually a weekly feature and there is a definite rotation from village to village. In all our inspections we did not find anything for sale in the weekly bazaars which had been brought there by Kols. Any wood, grass, eggs or the like, which they do sell are sold privately to individuals.

Animals. Whenever possible Kols keep animals such as cows, bullocks, goats and chickens, but unless they are rather independent economically not many are found to own cattle. Out of twelve Kol families studied in Barela only four owned cattle: five bullocks, two cows and two calves. Most of the families had a few chickens. Dogs and cats are found in Kol villages but they do not seem to be owned by individuals, belonging rather to the whole village. No swine were kept in Barela, nor by any other Kol community which we studied. Some intimated that in the years that were past swine were kept but that they gave it up so as not to offend their Hindu neighbours. Kols never keep donkeys nor horses. One Kol in Barela wanted to purchase a pair of bullocks, and to do this went to a bazaar in Panagar a distance of twenty miles away, where he got one for eight rupees. A few days later he purchased another from a nearby Gond village and paid twelve rupees. Neither was a very good specimen.

The survey of Kharara Ghat indicated that there they owned 35 bullocks, 73 cows, 43 goats and about 200 chickens. In our investigations we found only one or two Kol families owning buffaloes; their cost and care is far too much for the average Kol. Eight out of the thirty